COMMEMORATOR

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PRESS CONFERENCE — FORMER PANTHER LEADERS COME FORWARD ON BEHALF OF GERONIMO PRATT— See Page 4

HUEY'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION, FEBRUARY 17, HONORING BLACK HISTORY MONTH

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Former Black Panther leaders, John Seale, David Hilliard, Katheleen Cleaver and Emory Douglas at recent Oakland's Press conference

Tony Sabino

General Raoul Cedras, leader of the Coup

The following interview is of an activist, Pierre Labossiere, who is also a native of Haiti, who now lives in the San Francisco Bay Area. Labossiere is quite clear on the political development in Haiti and the U.S. role

Q: Since you grew up in Haiti, talk a little bit about your experience there and what's happening there, politically.

Pierre Labossiere: I left Haiti when I was 14 years old; I was born there. When I grew up, "Papa Doc" [President Francois Duvalier] came to office in 1957. He created the militia, Tonton Macoutes. Now those guys, the Tonton Macoutes, are very cruel. I've know entire families which've been killed by them for no reason. They were set by "Papa Doc" as his private army to keep the people down, so that "Papa Doc" could win [remain in office] forever. "Papa Doc" died in 71 and his son, "Baby Doc" took over, but conditions continued, except that "Baby Doc" tried what was called "Liberalization." Because there was so much opposition, he tried to liberalize [reform the government] as a way of taking the wind out of the sails of the opposition — it was successful. With that, he made an appeal to various businesses to come to Haiti to take advantage of low wages.

Q: What kind of businesses and what kind of low wages?

P.L.: Textile, Baseball companies, Auto firms, Electronic assemble — light manufacturing — to come to Haiti where they would pay the workers $2 per day. Sometime they would work 10 hours per day. There were no labor laws, or the labor laws were not enforced. So the people worked for $2 per day and when the people tried to organize to form unions and demand their rights, the Tonton Macoutes are there to kill them, to imprison them. And that's the way it is. So

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The following is a recent interview with Muhjah Shakir, coordinator for The International Campaign to Free Geronimo ji Jaja (Pratt) and John Seale, former Central Committee member of the Black Panther Party.

by Nataka Shanta

Question: Since I know that you have worked closely with the International Campaign to Free Geronimo, how do you feel about these BPP members coming forth and how will it reflect on his case?

Muhjah Shakir: I feel that this press conference will not be enough. It's just another thing that needed to be done. These former Panthers coming forth and saying that Geronimo was, in fact, with them in Oakland at the time of the alleged crime is a good thing. This should set the record straight. However, none of this is enough. Until the people, in one big voice, say that this innocent man needs to be free only then will the record be set straight. This will, of course, take a huge movement, just as when Nelson Mandela was incarcerated. We need to let our youth know who he is and the positive things that came out of the Black Panther Party.

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Editorial

BLACK HISTORY MONTH AND THE POLITICAL LIFE OF DR. HUEY P. NEWTON

For some, it is impossible to talk about Dr. Huey P. Newton without talking about the Black Panther Party, because that is how most people came to know him, through his ideas and activism, as co-founder and leader of the Black Panther Party. For his courage, political understanding and commitment to the cause, many people appreciated him. Heunderstood revolution as a dialectical process, not as some absolutist dogma. The visions, insights, principles and goals in which he contributed to the cause demand commemorating.

His visions, activism and advanced political leadership, contributed, greatly, to mass organization of communities across America and the world through the 60's and 70's. This led to the development of model survival programs and to the elevation of political and social awareness among Black people in particular.

Some people disliked him, mainly for personal reasons and his revolutionary stance. However, to commemorate his life is not a matter of whether one personally liked or disliked his personality. But the point is: to advance his visions, insights, principles and goals that he could not advance while he was alive because the Party had been undermined and the economic conditions were not conducive to ***Intercommunalism*** — but they are applicable to conditions today. The negative state and nature of the global economy for poor and working people makes it so, especially in America.

Dr. Newton, a principal mover of a revolutionary party that was constantly under attack by reactionary forces in this country, at a time when revolution was at a high tide and in its infancy stage, is the context and understanding in which we, the communities, should honor him.

Within this context , Dr. Newton, not only dared and stood up for his people and class, he also pointing to the social and economic trends on an ***Intercommunal*** (international) level, pointing out universal laws of dialectics as they relate to societies and classes and social phenomena.

In the mid-sixties and up through the seventies, the Black Panther Party, under the principal leadership of Dr. Newton, alone with Bobby Seale and the Party Central Committee, was a catalyst for revolutionary change for African-Americans and other oppressed communities throughout urban America and an inspiration to revolutionaries around the world. To ignore Dr. Newton's contribution and his role as chief theoretician and leader of the BPP is to ignored the full meaning of poor and oppressed people struggle for social justice here and around the globe.

From its inception to the very ending of its existence, the Black Panther Party was under attack by reactionary forces in this country, from the FBI to the police in the African-American community. All this occured before the Party could develop a strong base of operation. It's quite obvious that the U.S. government played the leading role in this planned, diabolical attack against the Party. Through playing on the Party's ***structual weaknesses,*** the FBI was able to institute its plan of neutralization. Through infiltration, missinformation, imprisonment, assassination — the Party was up against a Monster. Dr. Newton, as principal leader, headed up FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover's, hit list during this period.

According to the U.S. government own documentations (through the Freedom of Information Act of 1973), Dr. Newton was targeted for neutralization through misinformation, assassinations and imprisonment, as were many other Party leaders at the time. For instance, Fred Hampton, Lil' Bobby Hutton, John Huggins, Apprentice "Bunchy" Carter, and many more Party leaders were set-up and murdered, these counter measures had been taken, directly or indirectly, by the U.S. government, in spite of the illegality of the activities.

Today, Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), a political prisoner because of his belief and organizing ability, is still incarcerated for a crime which he clearly did not commit. He has been imprisoned for over 20 years because the government wants to punish him. And as a result, he can't get a jury hearing to clear him of the government's false charges. Mumia Adu Jamal sits on Death Row in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania for a crime he evidently did not commit. Dhoruba Bin Wahad, who, after spending 19 years in prison on trumped-up charges, is now confronted with the very real possibility of been re-imprisoned because of the Court of Appeals has now changed the law. Bobby Seale, BPP co-founder, was kidnapped and indicted on murder charges and was threaten with the death penalty. These are just some of the well-known former Party members. Many other party and non-party activists were, also, victims of COINTELPRO's dirty tricks. If one were to include all the revolutionary activists who are persecuted for political activities, one could go on and on. There are literally over a hundred of U.S. political prisons incarcerated today.

Although COINTELPRO, through various schemes, was able to split the Party — undermining organizational discipline — *CONTINUED ON PAGE 6*
the contribution, and brilliance leadership

COMMENTARY
SHARING THE CHALLENGE; HIV AND AIDS IN OUR COMMUNITY

By Abdi Rashid

When Magic uttered the words, "Because of the HIV virus I have obtained, I will have to announce my retirement from the Lakers today," he shattered forever the myths and denial about HIV and AIDS in the African American community. With his courageous disclosure, Magic Johnson has opened up the eyes of many in being aware of HIV in our community.

But there is more to HIV and the African American community than "if it can happen to him, it may happen to me." For us in the African American community, the reality is harsher. The chances are that it is more likely for us to contract HIV than any other population group. In California, African Americans contract AIDS at three times the rate of any other racial group. We make up 12% of the U.S. population, yet make up over 26% of the 200,000 cases of AIDS diagnosed since 1981. if we were to take that percentage and look at the estimate for people with the AIDS virus in the U.S., estimated at 2 million, we see the reality of half a million African American brothers and sisters with the virus and a future of thousands more. (Centers for Disease Control, HIV/AIDS Surveillance Report, October 1991)

Amongst sisters, the numbers are even scarier, 60% of all women with AIDS are African American, as are 50% of the babies born with AIDS. AIDS is the #1 killer of young African American women in New York and New Jersey. (Black Coalition on AIDS, "Its A Black Thang" 1991) As troubling as these statistics are, we must know them if we are to realize the seriousness of this epidemic in our community and do something about it.

Awareness of HIV is only one step in confronting this epidemic in our communities. Magic's disclosure puts most of us on this level. But to confront HIV effectively we must a) be open to learning, b) get the education from the various AIDS service organizations and health clinics, c) get rid of our fears about HIV, partly achieved through the education, but also with struggling with our own insecurities and fears, d) finding out what you can do, for instance, educating your family and friends, volunteering with AIDS service providers, raising money for people with AIDS e.t.c., and lastly e) Do it, make that commitment.

As a community we suffer and even bigger hurdle in effectively dealing with HIV/AIDS. And that hurdle is economic. The economic reality is that our community is more impoverished. Magic Johnson's income is not indicative of the vast majority of African American people: In 1986, the average median Black family income was $17,604, that number is only 57% of the median White family income of $30,809. 31% of African Americans live in poverty, nearly three times the rate for Euro-Americans. And in light of the recession, this percentage is bound to increase. (Bay Area Urban League, "African Americans," 6/90)

What all these numbers basically mean for African American persons with HIV is that we are more vulnerable in accessing all the care we need because we are more likely to be poor. In light of the Center for Disease Control spending only 1.3% of it's $480 million AIDS budget on minority HIV programs, we as a community need to advocate strongly for fairer distribution of funding and more resources for the health care system. a national health care plan could be one area energy can be directed toward.

Supervisor Doris Ward working with the African American Health Agenda Task Force in San Francisco has shown leadership in this area. At the same time we must not neglect our brothers and sisters forced to live with substandard care and attention today. We have to pick up some of the slack individually and institutionally in caring for our own while fighting the power for more money and resources. As we enter African History Month, I ask us [African-American] to reflect the principles of KWANZAA, specifically UMOJA, unity — "to strive for and maintain unity in the family, community, nation and race," and UJIMA, collective work and responsibility — "to build and maintain our community together and make our sister's and brother's problems our problems and to solve them together."

What do these principles mean to us in this day and age of HIV and AIDS? How will we be responsible to our brothers and sisters living with this virus, and how can we share the challenge that HIV presents to our community in a united and loving way? Can we get beyond the barriers of homophobia and acknowledge and respect sexual diversity? Do we wait until HIV is present in our immediate family before responding? HIV presents a challenge to our notion of community, and it is a challenge we should face honestly and make real what we mean by community. We must care and help each other in the struggle against the AIDS virus and say to ourselves that no one in our community is expendable.

RESOURCES IN THE COMMUNITY

The San Francisco Black Coalition on AIDS (B.C.A.) formed in 1986 is an alliance of individuals and organizations with the common mission of stopping the spread of HIV disease in the African American population through educations, advocacy and empowerment. Among the BCA's programs are an AIDS Education Outreach Project, a Speaking Bureau, Public Policy Advocacy Project, Media Outreach Project and AIDS Health Services Planning Project.

Rafiki Services Project: Rafiki in Swahili means "friend," it implies a spirit of living in community — a sense of being bonded to one another. This B.C.A. project offers the following services;a) community education about AIDS and HIV, b) Recruitment and screening of volunteers for people living with AIDS, c) Culturally sensitive training for emotional and practical support volunteers for people with AIDS, d) Ongoing support groups for emotional and practical volunteers and care givers for people with AIDS, e) Direct placement of volunteers with people with AIDS.

Both the above agencies are in the Western Addition in San Francisco at 1042 Divisadero Street, SF, CA 94115.
B.C.A.(415) 346-2364 or RAFIKI (415) 346-5860

COMMENTARY

GOVERNMENT TO HOMELESS: GO TO JAIL

By Mumia Abu Jamal

On December 9, 1981, journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal was thrown in jail, framed up on charges of killing a cop. Today, he sits on Huntingdon prison's death row, fighting for his life against the racist state authorities who are determined to send him to his grave ... Jamal fights with the weapons he has — his voice and his pen. We must with ours. It will take the organized force of labor, minorities and death penalty abolitionists [the masses] in social struggle and protest to stop the executioner. Our success rests on the determined support of all who believe [in justice] Jamal must not die. For more information contact the PCD at P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013

The growing hordes of homeless swell by the hour as the U.S. economy spirals towards deadfall.

Major multinationals, in a race towards more margins of profit abroad, toss U.S. workers out into the cold, and hire foreign workers at the barest fraction of the ex-workers' pay.

The result? Factories shutting doors here only to reopen across the border, or across the Pacific; jobs fleeing; a stark drop in purchases of big ticket items, cars, refrigerators and the like; missed payments; and homelessness. Estimates range up to the millions of people without a home, with less and less hope of getting one anytime soon.

Economists define a recession as when the GNP (Gross National Product) declines for two consecutive quarters. It took well over a year for the Bush administration to admit the obvious — that the U.S. was in the grips of a deadly deepening recession, and imminent depression.

As the political races begin this season, GOP presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan lobbed aloft the grinchlike trial ballon that die-hard homeless be tossed into jail.

In a time when states and municipalities are slipping into bankruptcy, and jails filled to bursting, this politician proposes a jail cell for those damned to be poor.

"I don't think we should have them wandering the streets frightening women and people," Buchanan opined (Patriot-News. Hsbg., PA; 24 December 1991).

The longtime Presidential aide told reporters, "I would put them up for the night and if they kept doing it [living on the streets]I would pick them up for vagrancy and lock them up."

This is the logical extension of a series of administrations built on animosity against the poor; a party of the ultra-rich; a government built on enmity and class war; a system of racial conflict; and a government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich.

The public policy used to be the rhetoric of help the poor; tomorrow's theme is hate the poor. With government closing schools, hospitals, and public services the only growth industry on the horizon is the dead end of prisons. With steel mills shuttered, factories idled, and automotive industries gasping for last breath, workers are being siphoned into the so-called "correctional" field, a series of dead end jobs which produce nothing for a social and political economy in crisis, save growing black pool of bitterness.

The cynical, counterproductive and utterly stupid call to shackle and pen the homeless "if they keep doing it" is a reflection of the shallow sounding that pass for "thought" and political program that is sending the nation's social and economic life into the sewers.

It is the sound of scared, silly, misguided men whose public tantrums translate into more problems aching for human solutions.

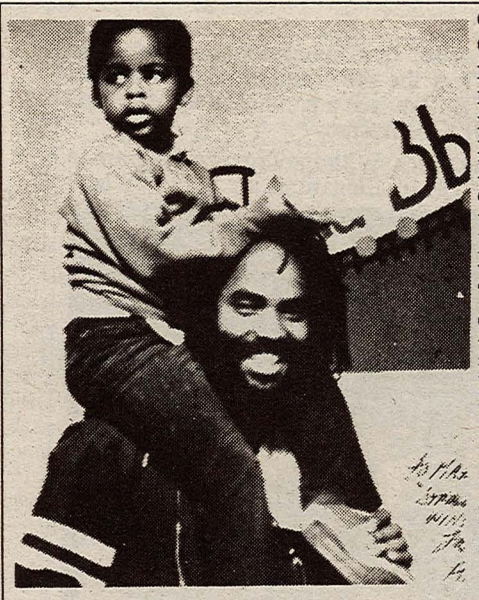
In a time when states and municipalities are slipping into bankruptcy, and jails filled to bursting, this politician proposes a jail cell for those damned to be poor.

500 YEARS: CELEBRATIONS OR DEMONSTRATIONS?

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

As the year 1992 comes roaring out of time, minds turn to the upcoming marking of 500 years since the Spanish Conquest and European "discovery" of what came to be called the "New World."

Depending on one's perspective, Oct. 1992 is either cause for celebration or condemnation in belated response to the confused arrival of Admiral Christopher



Columbus, or as the Spanish prefer, Cristobal Colon. His colossal error in navigation resulted in naming the red-skinned inhabitants "Indians," a mistake based upon his firm reckoning that he landed in India. Initial logs of his landing spoke admirably of a warm and friendly meeting with the dark inhabitants who received the Europeans with, in Columbus' words, "Great Amity toward us." They were; "A loving people without covetousness," who "were greatly pleased and became so entirely our friends that it was a wonder to see."

Sadly, the same could not be said for the Christians, who coveted not only the tiny islands, but the lions' share of the mainland, and after instituting slavery and causing widespread suffering and death, the land they so coveted was stolen.

There are no descendants of the "Indians," actually the Arawaks who met Columbus. The tribe was exterminated in the space of a generation under pressure of European slavery, genocide and diseases.

Not content with stealing land from the native people, the colonists stole people from another land, launching a Black Holocaust that sent millions of Africans into a nightmare of dehumanization, deculturation, slavery and death via the dread Middle Passage.

Central to this epoch of historic criminality was the use and global manifestation of racism to justify this carnage. One early British apologist for European theft of Red lands, pampleteer Robert Gray wrote;

"Although the Lord hath given the earth to children of men, the greater part of it [is] possessed and wrongfully usurped by wild beasts, and unreasonable creatures, or by brutish savages, which by reason of their Godless ignorance, and blasphemous Idolatrie, are worse than those beasts which are of most wild and savage nature."

Today, 5 centuries after Columbian contact, a bare 750,000 Indians live in some 27 U.S. states, scattered over roughly three hundred reservations, where once well over 10 million Indians lived free. The vaunted "progress" boasted of hardly touched Indian communities, where alcoholism is endemic, and rates of unemployment ranged from 14% to 67%, with a national average unemployment rate of over 43%. It would seem that the most directly impacted and affected of peoples touched by the landing of *CONTINUED ON PAGE 15*

On Police Protection

By Alfonso Texidor

About all I can see around me
are things that are hard to believe,
things I can't do
and things I can't have...
then the police keep coming in,
swooping down and kicking ass.
They really don't care
about the why's and whyfores
if you lie, cheat and steal,
or crook and connive
and kill one another.
They're merely being paid
to watch us in our desertion,
and to verify when, how and if in fact we lie, cheat and steal
or crook and connive
and kill one another,
and if you understood
the real nature of this business the Police Force,
then you'd know they're not there
for anybody's care or concern...
Because we live
in a neighborhood of people who lie, cheat and steal,
and crook and connive
and kill one another...
But, anyway,
about all I can see around me are things that are hard to believe
people without jobs
or a place to live,
and nobody knows much of anything.
Then the police keep coming in,
swooping down and kicking ass.
I don't need police protection,
I need protection from the police!
(Reprinted from CAMBIO newspaper)

PRESS CONFERENCE

PRESS CONFERENCE

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Question: In **Geronimo's** case what do you feel the government responsibilities are? Do you see a parallel in his case and the JFK conspiracy?

Muhjah Shakir: Well these are interesting times. With Intelligence Program in the media, with the JFK movie, the same type of allegations are going on how President Kennedy was murdered by a government agency called the Central Intelligent Agency. In that sense, hopefully, people will see that the government used the same tactics that it used to destroy the Black Panther Party. Unfortunately our youth connect the negative portrayals of the BPP. A lot of that was developed by the U.S. government COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program.

John Seale, Ashaki Pratt, Willie Bell (in background) and Kathleen Cleaver

Question: Do you feel that the JFK movie will help people recognize things that go on within the government?

Muhjah Shakir: I don't know, but I do know that the media plays a major role in shaping public opinions throughout this country. It may enlighten people. But, I think that the people that are here today, Kathleen Cleaver, John Seale, and the others, Emory Douglas and David Hilliard are very courageous in coming together. It's a pretty powerful statement.

John Seale

Question: By coming forth, how do you feel it has helped the Geronimo Pratt case?

John Seale: Basically, I feel that over the years, what has taken place and what has happened to the BPP, people didn't come forward because of the split situation that took place [20 years ago] We didn't come forth. Now that **Geronimo** has been in prison for so many years and we now know the facts of the split situation, we come forth with the facts on behalf of **Geronimo**. Him being a political prisoner and unjustly tried because of J. Edgar Hoover's whole move was to smash the Party, we, as Party members, need to come forth because of the fact that **Geronimo Pratt** is innocent.

Question:: Why after all these years have you and other Party members decided now to come forth?

John Seale: We all have gone in different directions, raising families, etc. etc. We pulled away from what actually took place because of the establishment destruction of the Party. But with what is happening throughout the world, today, we feel that this kind of move has to take place in our black community, to show our youth to stand up for what is right and that we can stick together.

Question: Do you feel the evidence is substantial enough to prove his innocence?

John Seale: Well, yes, but also it has been stated in the past and it should have been enough to free **Geronimo** because he has been unjustly tried.

Question: How do you feel the system has managed to postpone his hearing?

John Seale: It's the process that has taken place throughout the history of this country. They will postpone anything they wish, so that any organization such as the BPP can't bring about an understanding and organize. They will continue to do this, especially to black and poor people and people of color.

Question: What would you like to see in terms of the government and its responsibility to people?

John Seale: The 10-Point Program points out that we want fair trials for all human beings and all political prisoners.

INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO FREE GERONIMO PRATT
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Undoubtably, Geronimo Pratt was framed and persecuted by the U.S. government's COINTELPRO operation. If you attended the recent press conference, in Oakland, where former Black Panther Party leaders, Geronimo's wife, Ashaki Pratt, as well as, Kathleen Cleaver as well as a statement from co-founder, Bobby Seale, read by David Hilliard, former Chief of Staff of the BPP, you would be convinced as well. What came out of the press conference was what some informed people already know.
Former Black Panther members' statements put much of the information in context. The following is some of the text from the recent Oakland press conference.

PRESS INTERVIEW

David Hilliard, former BPP Chief of Staff, began the press conference by reading the statement from co-founder, **Bobby Seale**, on behalf of**Geronimo Pratt**. "I'm looking forward to testifying upon his **[Geronimo]** behalf so that we can free this brother from this racist, vicious system. I'm pleased that Bob Blum, **Geronimo's** attorney, brought us together toward **Geronimo's** release..."

A portion of statement from former BPP Minister of Culture, **Emory Douglas:**

"My name is Emory Douglas. I'm a former member of the Black Panther Party and still friend of **Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt**. I've also know that **Geronimo** was in the Bay Area at the time the alleged crime took place. I also know that there was very much human concern within the Black Panther Party when **Geronimo** was expelled. You may want to ask then why we didn't come forward at that particular time? As has been stated there was a counter intelligence program that created the split within the Black Panther Party. When the directive came down from the [Party] Central Committee that **Geronimo** was expelled from the Black Panther Party, it was a very painful experience. But it was one that we had to accept because of the fact we were dedicated to the principles of the Black Panther

Ashaki Pratt, John Seale, and David Hilliard

Party and we wanted to continue to work with those that we choose to work with. I chose to work with Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. I chose to work with the breakfast programs and the health clinics and all the other established programs of the Black Panther Party. Yet this did not deter my feeling and my concern for my brother, **Geronimo Pratt**. We all understood that there was something taking place at that particular time. We didn't know that it was called COINTELPRO at the time. We know that there were actions being taken to destroy the Black Panther Party by any means necessary. We understood that the truth was being undermined about the Black Panther Party. It [BPP] was the watchword that was used by the Los Angeles Police Department. They had the Criminal Conspiracy. You would think that it was set up to investigate criminal conspiracies, but it was set up to create criminal conspiracy against the Black Panther Party.

" Knowing all these things, now years later, confirms my conviction that there was a conspiracy, as we all know as the records has shown, that **Geronimo** is not guilty and was set up by the U.S. government and its agencies. And that is why I'm here and why I've been working with the International Campaign to free **Geronimo Pratt** for the last 2 1/2 to 3 years."

Ashaki Pratt: " I just want to say that **Geronimo** and I have been together for 15 years. We have a daughter 12 years old and a son 8. And I want to personally thank everyone here for making their statements, because I believe that what's happening here is a historical event. In spite of the COINTELPRO and J. Edgar Hoover counter intelligence program, in a sense, he has failed because people decided to come back together and support **Geronimo**."

Reporter: Directing question to Kathleen Cleaver. "You mentioned that you were the only one that testified at **Geronimo's** trial. How did that make you feel?"

Kathleen Cleaver: " Well, I have to explain. When the expulsion had taken place in the Black Panther Party, I were out of the country and was observing it from a distance. So when people in New York was expelled [The New York 21] I thought that it was very odd. When **Geronimo** was expelled, we were furious and we protested and we complained and as a result our whole organization were divided. **Geronimo** and I was on the same receiving end of having been expelled... We

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PRESS CONFERENCE AND LOCL NEWS

PRESS CONFERENCE

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didn't know the name COINTELPRO but we knew that it was some kind of FBI infiltration and cooptation and activities involved in our organization.

So, the fact that I came out to testify for him and no one else did, was not unusual. By the time I came to testify for him, there was no communication. People weren't speaking to one another. Instead of speaking there was essentially warfare going on between the two sides. The government had sent letters, couries, and visitors to both peoples, saying 'so and so wants to kill you.' Right after the split, I was in Algeria, I was going to come back to Oakland to speak at a rally, we got a letter saying 'If you let Kathleen come back, her life would be endangered.' So there was all this effort being made to consciously threaten and frighten people to keep from each other. So, the fact that no one came to testify at **Geronimo's** trial was not surprising."

Reporter: "Mrs Cleaver that was a long time ago. I understand the context of the split, but this is now 1992. He been in jail for a really long time. Why not earlier? J. Edgar Hoover been dead for a long time.

Kathleen Cleaver: We have been filing [habeas corpus] petitions. This is the second one filed. There was another one filed approximate 11 years before it was exhausted. So, what is new now is that other people who were part of the Black Panther Party that until recently was opposed to Pratt.

Reporter: I'm really directing my question to Mr. Hilliard and Mr. Douglas.

David Hilliard: Well simply what Kathleen has said: that it was because of the dissension The FBI and its COINTELPRO machinery had us to believe that **Geronimo** was an FBI agent who had organized with the Special Forces in Vietnam. And, certainly, we were up against a lot of infiltration during the 60's, a lot of you know about that kind of stuff...We were a bit leery to associate with Geronimo because he had been branded as an agent within our ranks. So that's why we weren't in communication with him and why we did not come forward to support him. And I would like to make clear — and this is the underlining reason that we are here today — don't make any mistakes about it, COINTELPRO has not ceased in its machinations. They are very much effective and very much alive. And that is one of the reason **Geronimo** is still held in prison. And we want to make it clear, and we want to go on record to state that it is because of that particular COINTELPRO machinery that **Geronimo Pratt** is in prison and that this case was concocted against him, and that we all were victims of that dissension and the FBI attempts to destroy the Black Panther Party.

Reporter: So you're saying you thought he was an agent and that's why you didn't want to come forward? At what point did you realize he wasn't an agent?

David Hilliard: When most of the documents were revealed. My own documents that I got during the suits which were filed in the latter 70's, stating in New Haven Connecticut, where there was a big law suit filed against COINTELPRO. We started subpoenaing, getting our Freedom of Information materials and it became clear to us that we were being duped. We were being used against our own party members. This stuff is no news that we were duped and victimized by COINTELPRO.

Kathleen Cleaver: Specifically, why now? There was an event that occurred in another Panther's trial in New York, that was when Dhoruba Bi Wahad (Richard Moore) was released after 17 or 18 years. It was accepted that evidence that shown that he was innocent and was withheld from the defense. They finally granted his release. The attorney [Bob Blum] who won that motion, after freeing Dhoruba, decided he would come and work on **Geronimo's** case. And he actually came to these different individuals and asked, would you be willing to participate, would you be willing to give your statement? So, it wasn't as though people decided one day that people were going to come out to support **Geronimo**. But new legal efforts to win his release, after finally succeeding in winning the release of one [former] Black Panther's case that was undertaken by Bob Blum, was the thing that brought us together.

David Hilliard, Kathleen Cleaver, Emory Douglas and Harvey McClenden

Reporter: Can you be specific. You're saying that **Mr Pratt** was here in Oakland when the crime occurred?

Kathleen Cleaver: That's been in the record since day one. What has not been in the record is that the FBI had an informant testify against him **[Geronimo]** at his trial.

Reporter: What is the status of the legal effort for **Pratt** release?

Ashaki Pratt: His case is at the Los Angeles appellate court. He has filed a second habeas, 2 months back and that habeas is in. The judge, Gary Klausner, hardly had enough time to read what had been presented to him before he threw it out. So Bob went back to the Appellate Court to ask that the judge make the first judge at lease give a hearing so that the case could be heard. Yesterday Bob heard from the clerk. So it not official but the judge is going to deny it again. So he's going to go back to the initial judge in San Francisco.

Reporter: Didn't the murder victim's husband identify another man other then **Geronimo**? Is that not the suppressed evidence?

Kathleen Cleaver: Yes. There was an eyewitness identification that was made prior. The fact that he [a man] made the eyewitness identification was withheld at the time **Pratt** went to trial. It came out later that he had identified someone else as the perpetrator,. That person was in prison at the time of the trial.

Reporter: Now that you are all back together and are working together, is there any thinking that you might reactivate the BPP?

Kathleen Cleaver: Well, this is the campaign to get **Geronimo Pratt** out of prison. Everyone is doing separate and different things. That's another issue for another press conference. (audience's laughter)

Reporter: Regarding the amount of time that it takes to go through the legal process, assuming that all is in line, how soon might **Geronimo** be released?

Kathleen Cleaver: You're making an assumption that the legal process is going to work. We've been doing this for 20 years. Everything that could be done has been done right. We had defense lawyers, gone over documents and filed petitions. If it had been any other person except **Geronimo** they would have been released. That's why we say COINTELPRO is still working.

Reporter: Is there any kind of parole date?

Ashaki Pratt: This is the tenth time that he has been turned down.

Kathleen Cleaver: In **Geronimo** own words, "The proof that I'm a political prisoner is the fact that I'm still in prison."

David Hilliard: Why **Geronimo** been held in prison for so long? If it was just a simple murder, he would have got a parole hearing after 12 years. People commit murder for all kinds of mayhem but are not held as long as **Geronimo.** A common murder is usually allowed a hearing and released by now.

Reporter: What purpose of the government would it serve to keep him out of circulation ?

David Hilliard: I certainly do not know all the reasons but you got the CIA in the White House. (audience's laughter) It not news that the police have always had a very stringent and nasty attitude about Panther functionaries. **Geronimo** seems to be the kind of person who doesn't break easily. I think he's been punished because he will not break. As long as **Geronimo** stands up the system metes out more punishment against him.

Kathleen Cleaver: I think, more precisely, **Geronimo** was a decorated Vietnam soldier for heroism. I think that one of the reason **Geronimo** is been held so long is to make it very clear to any other decorated Vietnam soldier that: "If you decide to take the skills and abilities that you got in the U.S. Army and turn them into the use of your own people, in some liberation movement and activities, you will pay with your own life. We will lock you up and you will never see the light of day." I think that's a message why they singled out **Geronimo**, because there are a lot of Black soldiers who were decorated for heroism in Vietnam. Suppose everyone of them did what **Geronimo** did?

Reporter: What do you hope to accomplish by coming out?

David Hilliard: We hope to help get the word out to demand that **Geronimo** should be released so he can return to his family. He has been in prison for too long for a crime he clearly did not commit.

Question from the audience: What was **Geronimo** in Los Angeles and why was he single out?

Emory Douglas: Geronimo was serving the interest of the community. Geronimo helped us to defend offices. When there were ***shoot-ins,*** if it hadn't been for Geronimo people would be dead now. 4 days before the LA shoot-in, Fred Hampton was murdered [in Chicago]. Therefore, **Geronimo** having those [combat] skills help us to fortify our offices. Realizing that this [police and military repression] had begone to happen all across the country, Geronimo began to help us fortify our offices as a defense

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of the late Dr. Newton needs to be commemorated in the context that the struggle continues. This context goes back to Black and oppressed people's continue struggle against oppression and repression in this land and around the world. It goes back to, Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., Harriet Tubman, Fredrick Douglas, John Brown, Denmark Vessey and many others.

Despite the reactionary attacks against the Party, despite the undermining by Discontents — the lies and deceptions — lamed, the Black Panther Party was able to continue with the business of organization around some of the survival needs, especially in the black and poor urban communities.

In the words of Dr. Huey P. Newton: " We must not take our survival programs as an answer to the problem. We don't even claim it to be a revolutionary program. Because revolutions are made of sterner stuff. We do say that if the people are not here, then, of course, revolution cannot be achieved because the people make revolution." (Boston College, November 18, 1970)

In the early 70's, when Sickle Cell Anemia had become a major concern in the African-American community, the BPP began a testing program. For example, the Party tested ten of thousands black people in this country for the Sickle Cell Anemia disease that sparked a grassroots movement against the deadly disease. The many food-give-aways and health clinics for black and poor people were also a part of the legacy of the Black Panther Party. Since the 60's and 70's the poverty in our communities has exponentially increased.

COINTELPRO, unprecedented in its schemes, used every dirty trick that it could come up with to wipe out the potential threat of the Black Panther Party and its programs — as such, stemming the tide of revolutionary consciousness which were growing in this country and around the world during the 60's. Out of 295 counter intelligence operations carried out by the government during this period, 233 were carried out against the Black Panther Party.

The legacy of racialism, injustice and class exploitation in this country are the primary reasons why the struggle for equal justice and people power were the fundamental premise of the Black Panther Party's thrust for ***Communities Unity*** against our common oppressor -- the system that serves the status quo. Today, the legacy of ethinic strife, racial and class and economic oppression in this country, and around the world, are thriving. Dr. Newton recognized those conditions and trends as ***reactionary Intercommunalism***.

So, if this struggle for justice and people power is a universal continuum our communities -- especially our young generation, -- can gain some insight from Black History Month in commemorating the birthday of the late, revolutionary ***Intercommunalist*** and theorectian, Dr. Huey P. Newton.

Therefore it should be a primary and collective responsibility to continue the struggle for justice and people power in the tradition of people solidarity and ***Intercommunalism***, as put forth by Dr. Newton and the Black Panther Party — but, without the machinations of COINTELPRO, or anything that resembles it.

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BLACK PANTHER ARCHIEVES

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE/WILLING TO LIVE

By Steve McCutchen

Though the Black Panther Party has withered away, the ideas and programs introduced through chief theoretician and co-founder, Dr. Huey P. Newton [and co-founder, Bobby Seale] are needed now to fill the glaring vacuum created due to government sanctioned cutbacks and defunding of the various social programs that met some of the momentary needs and desires of Black and poor people here in America.

Huey P. Newton understood that all people of society must have the basic needs of life in order to survive and prosper; among those needs are food, housing, education, medical care, legal justice and a sense of purpose. He stated that a government that did not provide those services and address those needs was in fact guilty of neglect and in violating the basic and fundamental rights of all humanity. According to the U.S. Constitution, those basic rights are guaranteed. Should that right to enjoy the guarantees of the constitution be denied, then any of the peoples of America's communities are entitled to take actions which will insure their survival and prosperity.

Huey P. Newton, through his visions, stated that a person is threatened if the basic necessities of life are not provided, and that every human being is so entitled to defend themselves against those institutions that would deny the right to basic constitutional and human guarantees.

To allow the governing apparatus to strip a people of a relevant education, of decent housing, of meaningful employment, of necessary medical care and protections under the law are in fact, acts against humanity and the various people who are supposed to enjoy those protections and guarantees. When an individual or a group of people here in America do not take an active and committed stand against the conditions and those responsible for those conditions, then by their very apathy or lack of awareness they are committing reactionary suicide. To allow the soaring miseducation of our people or any people, by institutions unconcerned with the well-being of the masses of its populace is criminal and a violation of human rights. To quietly bypass the growing desperation of the homeless among us is to condone our own reactionary suicidal wishes. To witness the spiraling rates of unemployment, infant mortality, violent acts against a people in the name of law and order, and growing masses of people unconcerned with the political actions of power-holders are, as Dr. Huey P. Newton understood it, reactionary suicide.

Any people who will let the existing conditions of government stagnation and incompetence snatch away their right to life are slowly and imperceptibly committing reactionary suicide. Any people who will lay down in the midst of the continuing erosion of rights and opportunities, step closer to the precipice of reactionary suicide.

We all must die, but to live well, to live nobly with respect to all other human beings, is a direct challenge to the conditions which the U.S. government and its agencies and institutions would have us strive for

In his wisdom, Dr. Huey P. Newton saw that there was an alternative to reactionary suicide. If the powers to be would or intend to destroy our communities, then Black and poor people do not have to be willing participants in this scheme of destruction.

To confront those who would torment, oppress and otherwise terminate the mass efforts and survival of the Black and poor communities, revolutionary suicide is the alternative. Should conditions worsen, at least there will be a struggle, we will not go quietly.

We all must die, but to live well, to live nobly with respect to all other human beings, is a direct challenge to the conditions which the U.S. government and its agencies and institutions would have us strive for. To live and die with the common causes of the masses of American people was the principal idea which Dr. Huey P. Newton asserted. The failures and inadequacies of the present economy and U.S. policies confirms the plight of Americans and the systematic trends of destruction which deny the masses of people and their communities the right to survive.

If the poor and oppressed must die, if they must wither away in prison, on the streets, in the fog of academic circles or employment graveyards, then let it not be with their consent.

Revolutionary suicide is not necessarily a call to arms; instead it is a call to regenerate the resources of Black people in particular and all poor people and their communities.

The very conditions of Black and poor people today point to the fact that they are among the first abused, neglected and the least tolerated. The masses may be dying but they choose to live, to prosper. Revolutionary suicide gives Black and poor people the right to life.

Shall the masses choose the way of indifference or positive action, do they allow the gatherers and holders of power to move them into positions of social incompetence, or do we move as one body, "pressed to the wall dying, but fighting back"... REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE.

The following speech by Dr. Huey P. Newton was delivered at Boston College — November 18, 1970. Dr. Newton outlined some of the basic principles and concepts of *Intercommunalism* as the Black Panther Party new ideology.

BOSTON COLLEGE SPEECH

By Dr. Huey P. Newton

Tonight, I would like to outline for you the Black Panther Party's program and also explain how we arrived at our ideological position and why we feel it necessary to institute a Ten-point Program. A Ten Point Program that is not revolutionary in itself, nor is it reformist. It's a survival program. We feel that we, the people are threatened with genocide because racism and fascism is rampant. Not only in this country, but throughout the world and the ruling circle in North America are the responsible parties. We intend to change all of that. In order to change it, there must be a total transformation. But until such time that we can achieve that total transformation, we must exist. In order to exist, we must survive, so, therefore, we need a survival kit. The Ten-Point Program is a survival kit, brothers and sisters. In other words, it is necessary for our children to grow up healthy, with minds that can be functional and creative. They cannot do this if they do not get the correct nutrition. That is why we have a breakfast program for children. We also have community health programs. We have a bussing program. We call it the bus for relatives and parents of prisoners. Because we realize that the fascist regime who operate the prisons throughout America would like to do their treachery in the dark. If we get the relatives and the parents and friends to the prisons, they can expose the treachery of the fascist. So this too is a survival program.

We must not take our survival programs as an answer to the problem. We don't even claim it to be a revolutionary program. Because revolutions are made of sterner stuff. We do say that if the people are not here, then, of course, revolution cannot be achieved because the people make revolution. The people make revolution and only the people. The theme of our People's Revolutionary Constitutional Convention is "Survival Through Serv ice to the People." At our convention, we will present our total survival program. The survival program works very much like a first-aid-kit, or perhaps the kit that is used when a plane falls and you find yourself in the middle of the sea on a rubber raft. And you'll need a few things such as a first-aid kit and a few protein tablets in order to last until you can get to the shore, until you can get to that oasis where you can be happy and healthy. If you do not have those things necessary to get you to that shore, then possibly you will not exist. At this time, the ruling circle threatens us to the extent that we're afraid that we might not exist to see the next day or see the revolution. The Black Panther Party will not accept the total destruction of the people. Matter of fact, we have drawn a line of demarcation and we will no longer tolerate fascism, aggression, brutality and murder of any kind. Matter of fact, we will not sit around and allow ourselves to be murdered. Each person has an obligation to preserve himself. If he does not preserve himself, then I accuse him of suicide. I accuse him of reactionary suicide because a reactionary set of conditions will cause his death. I repeat, if we do nothing we might die the death of a reactionary suicide. That is, doing nothing we are accepting the situation. The situation is a condition of reaction, so, therefore, a reaction will cause our death. We will not accept that. Matter of fact, we say that if the alternatives are very narrow, we still will not sit around. We will not die the death of the Jews in Germany. We would rather die the death of the Jews in Warsaw.

Yes, because we feel that where there is courage, where there is self-respect and dignity, there is a possibility that we can change all of the conditions and that we can possibly win. And this is called revolutionary enthusiasm and it is the kind of stuff that is needed in order to guarantee a victory. We say that if we must die, then we will die the death of the revolutionary suicide. The revolutionary suicide that says that if I am put down, if I am driven out, I refuse to be swept out with a broom. I would much rather be driven out with a stick, because with the broom, when I am driven out, it will humiliate me and I will lose my self-respect. But if I am driven out with the stick, then at least I can remain with the dignity of a man and die the death of a man, rather than die the death of a dog. Of course, our real desire is to live, but we will not be cowed, we will not be intimidated.

I would like to explain to you the method that the Black Panther Party used to arrive at our ideological position, and, also more than that, I would like to give to you a framework or a process of thinking that might help us solve the problems and the contradictions that exist today. Today the world is very

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complicated. There are many things in operation at the same time. It reminds me of a little saying, "When I was a boy, what was so was so, what was not was not. Now I am a man, things have changed a lot. Some things nearly so, others, not. It is a puzzlement." How do we solve this? We must approach the problem attempting to get a clear picture and a clear image of really what's going on, really what is going on divorced from our attitudes and emotions that we usually project into a situation. In other words, we will attempt to be as objective as possible. We will be as objective as possible without accepting dogma; we will let the facts speak for themselves.

But we will not remain totally objective because knowledge and facts are no good if we do not put them to good use to serve our interests. So we will become subjective when we apply the knowledge that we received from the external world using the scientific method. But at that time, we will admit that we will be subjective, because once we apply this knowledge and will a certain outcome, our objectivity ends and our subjectivity begins. We call this integrating theory with practice. And this is what the Black Panther Party is all about.

Some people criticize the Black Panther Party. They call us many names. They call us revisionists, they call us hoodlums. They call us everything but the child of man. But tonight we will answer those people And I would hope that all of them have a front seat because I would like to have a dialectical argument with them.

You know, in order to understand a group of forces operating at the same time, science developed what is called a discipline. One of the characteristics or properties of this discipline is, first, to be disinterested. Not to be disinterested in the sense that you want to walk off from the problem, but disinterested in the particular outcome. In other words, you will not promote an outcome, you just want to know the facts. The other thing is that science starts off with a basic premise that is very important. And from time to time I will ask you to stipulate a few things with me. You see that even science starts off with a basic belief. Most basic premises start out with a belief because it is very important. And because it is very difficult to test your first premise. but after we agree or stipulate a first premise we then can have an intelligent argument because then we would just require each other to be consistent down to a valid conclusion. So tonight I would ask you to stipulate that an external world exists. An external world exists independently of us, in spite of whether we are around or not. In other words, the external world is a reality. The second thing that I would like for you to stipulate is that things are in a constant state of change, or transformation, rather. In other words, flux, flux, all is flux. After we agree to that, we can go on with our discussion. You know, the scientific method relies heavily on a concept they call empiricism. But the problem with empiricism is that it tells you very little about the future, it only tells you about the past. In other words, it can only tell you about what you gained through observation and experience and that is always past tense. So, therefore, a man by the name of Karl Marx integrated a theory developed by Immanuel Kant called rationale. Kant called his process of reasoning pure reason, because Kant's reasoning did not depend on the external world. It only depended on consistency. It only depended upon dealing with symbols in such a way where you manipulated them to come up with a conclusion based upon reason. For example, "If the sky is above my head, when I turn my head upwards, I will see the sky." There is nothing wrong with that. Matter of fact, that is the truth. But I haven't said anything about the existence of the sky. I said "if." And that is why with rationale we do not have to depend upon the external world. With empiricism we can tell very little about the future. So what will we do? In order to understand what is happening in the world, Marx found it necessary to integrate rationale with empiricism and he came up with a concept called dialectical materialism, because after we integrate these two concepts or these two ways of thinking, not only are we in touch with that world outside us, but we can also explain that constant state of transformation and, therefore, make some predictions about the outcome of the phenomena that is not only in constant change but also in conflict, attempting to reach some harmony.

You know also, that Marx, as a social scientist, criticized other social scientists because he felt that some of them attempted to explain phenomena, or part of phenomena, by taking it out of its environment, isolating it and putting it into a category, and not letting anyone know about the fact that once he took it out of its environment, once he took this particular set of conditions out of its environment the phenomena was transformed. It was not the same. In other words with a discipline such as sociology where we would study the activity of groups and how groups hold together and how groups fall apart without understanding everything else that is happening and everything that is connected to the group, we would get a false conclusion about the nature of the group. So what Marx attempted to do was to develop a way of thinking that would explain phenomena.

In the physical world, when forces collide, they are transformed. In physics, I think that they say that when atoms collide, that they divide into electrons, protons and neutrons, if I remember correctly. What happened to the atom? It was transformed. In the social world the same thing happens, or a similar thing. We can apply the same principle. In sociology, when two cultures collide a process occurs or a condition occurs which I believe the sociologists call acculturation, where two cultures are modified because of contact. Well Marx called the social forces, when the social forces collide, or classes, he called that a contradiction. In the physical world, when physical forces collide sometimes we call it just that, a collision. For example, when two cars meet head on, trying to occupy the same space at the same time, both are transformed. Sometimes other things happen. Matter of fact, had those two cars been turned back to back and sped off in opposite directions, they would not be having a contradiction, they would be contrary, covering different spaces at different times. Sometimes when people meet, we argue and we miss each other. We miss each other because, in the first place, we think we're having a contradiction when we're only being contrary. For example, I would say the wall is ten feet tall and you would say the wall is red, and we would argue all day thinking we're having a contradiction when actually we're being contrary. When people argue, when one offers a thesis and the other offers an antithesis, we say there's a contradiction, and we hope that if we argue long enough, provided that we agree on one first premise, that probably we hope that we can have some kind of synthesis. And tonight I hope I can have some form of agreement or synthesis with those who have criticized the Black Panther Party.

I think that the mistake is either that some people have taken the apparent as the actual fact, in spite of their claim to scholarly research and in spite of their claim that they follow the discipline of dialectical materialism. They fail to search deeper, like the scientist is required to do. To get beyond the apparent and come up with the more significant. I know you wonder how this connects with the Black Panther Party. I'll explain that. The Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist Party because we follow the dialectical method and we also integrate theory with practice. What we are not - We are not mechanical Marxists and we're not historical materialists. Some people think they are Marxists when actually they are following the thoughts of Hegel. Some people think they are Marxists-Leninists and they refuse to be creative. So, therefore, they're tied to a rhetoric that does not apply to the present set of conditions. They are tied to a set of thoughts that edges upon dogma, and what we sometimes call, flunkeyism.

Marx attempted to set up a framework. Just as in mathematics you develop certain equations to understand a certain phenomena, and after you learn some things about a particular set of conditions, then you try to move on and apply that framework to other things, or those principles. And you're not afraid of the outcome because you know that things change and you're willing to acknowledge the change because you're objective. Because you realize the method that you're using, if you're using the method of dialectical materialism, you don't even expect to find the same thing even one minute after you found it the last time, because then that's history. And if things are in a constant state of transformation, we will not expect for them to be the same. So, therefore, words that we used to describe the old phenomena perhaps will be useless to describe the new. And if we use the old words to describe events past then we might confuse people. They might think that things are static and therefore contradicting the theory of dialectical materialism.

In 1917, an event occurred in the Soviet Union that was called a revolution. Two classes had a contradiction and the whole country was transformed. In this country, 1970, the Black Panther Party issued a document. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, who now is in Algeria, wrote the pamphlet and it was called "On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party." In that work, Eldridge Cleaver stated that the proletarians in this country at this time, or the industrial worker, does not carry the potentialities for revolution. He claimed that the left wing of the proletarians, the lumpenproletarians, carry that revolutionary potential and in fact would carry the people of the world to the final climax of the transformation of society, and, therefore, will act as the vanguard. It has been stated by some people, by some parties, by some organizations, by Progressive Labor Party that it is impossible. How can the lumpenproletarians carry out a successful socialist transformation when they are only a minority? And in fact how can they do it when history shows that only the proletarians carried out a successful social revolution? I would agree that it is necessary for the people who carry out a social revolution to represent the popular majority's interests. It is necessary for this group to represent the broad masses of the people, I would agree to that. In the Soviet Union, 1917, we analyzed what happened there. I would agree that the lumpen proletarians are actually the minority in this country. No disagreement. It seems that I've contradicted myself. It only goes to show that what's apparent might not actually be a fact. Sometimes we think a thing is really a contradiction and it's only paradoxical. It might seem what it's not, you see. So what we will do is tear this thing apart; we will analyze it. In the Soviet Union, in 1917, the Soviet Union was basically an agricultural society, that of a very large peasantry. There was a set of social conditions existing there at that time that were responsible for the development of a small industrial base. The people who worked in this industrial base, they called them proletarians. Lenin, using Marx's theory, saw the trends because he was a dialectical materialist, and, therefore, he was very interested in the ever changing status of things. He saw that while the proletarians were a minority at that time, in 1917, they had the potentiality to carry out a revolution because their class was on the upsurge and the peasantry was on the decline. That was one of the

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conditions. The proletarians were destined to be a popular force. They also carried the necessary properties to carry out a revolution that resembled a socialist revolution.

In this country, the Black Panther Party taking careful note of the dialectical method, taking careful note of the social trends and the ever changing nature of thing, see that while the lumpen proletarians are the minority and the proletarians, the majority, we also see that technology is developing at such a rapid rate that we'll start with automation, go to cybernation, and then go from there probably into technocracy. As I came into town I saw MIT over the way. If the ruling circle remains in power, it seems to me that they would go on developing their technological machinery. They would go on developing their technological machinery because at the capitalist's hands and the ruling circle's hands, they're not interested in the people. So, therefore, I would expect from him the logic that he's always followed. That is to make as much money as possible and pay the people as little as possible, unless the people demand more and finally demand his head. At this time, if revolution does not occur almost immediately, and I say almost immediately because the trend is that technology is making leaps, (it made a leap all the way to the moon) and if the ruling circle remains in power, the proletarian worker, the proletarian working class, will definitely be on the decline, because they will be unemployables and, therefore, swell the ranks of the Lumpens, who are unemployables. Unemployables because the ruling circle does not need them any more. So every worker is in jeopardy because of the rule of the ruling circle. And this is why we say that the lumpenproletarians carry the potentiality for revolution and in fact will probably carry out the revolution and, in the near future, will be the popular class, the majority. Of course, I would not like to see all of my people unemployed or unemployables. But, being objective, because we're objective, because we're dialectical materialists, we must acknowledge the facts and that is all we're doing.

You know Marx outlined a rough process of development of society. Roughly he said society goes from a slave class to a feudalistic class structure to a capitalistic class structure to a socialistic class structure, and finally to Communism. Or in other words, from capitalist state to socialist state to no-state, Communism. I think we can all agree, and I would ask for a stipulation, that the slave class in the world has virtually been transformed into the wage slave. In other words, the slave class in the world no longer exists as a significant force, and if we could agree to that, we can agree that classes can be transformed literally out of existence. If this is so, if the slave class can disappear and become something else, or not disappear, but just be transformed and take on other characteristics, then it's also true that the proletarian or the industrial working class can possibly be transformed out of existence. Of course the people would not disappear, they would only take on other attributes. The attribute that I'm interested in is the fact that the ruling circle would not need him, and if the ruling circle is in control of the means of production, then he will be called an unemployable or a lumpen. So, I think that's logical, would be very strange to say only the slave class could disappear.

You know, Marx was a very intelligent man. He was not a dogmatist because he said this. He said, "One thing I'm not; I'm not a Marxist." In other words, he was trying to warn, he was trying to tell Progressive Labor Party and others not to accept the past as the present or the future, but to understand it and be able to predict what might happen in the future and, therefore, act in an intelligent way so that we can bring about the revolution that we all want.

After taking those things under consideration, we see that as time changes and as the world is transformed, that we need some new definitions to the situation. Because if we keep using the old terms people might think the old situation still exists. Therefore, they will get a fallacious picture of the world. They will think that the world is static. I would be very amazed if the same conditions that existed in 1917 would still be in existence today. Matter of fact, you know Marx and Lenin were pretty lazy dudes when it came to working for somebody. Matter of fact, they looked at toil, working for your necessities, as somewhat of a curse. And Lenin's whole theory after he put Marx's analysis into practice, was geared to get rid of the proletarians. In other words, that by the proletarian class or the working class seizing the means of production, they would be free from toil. As a matter of fact, Lenin saw a time where man could stand in one place, push buttons and move mountains. It sounds to me like he saw a proletarian working class transformed so that they could have that free block of time, so that they could indulge in productive creativity, so that they could think about developing their universe to a higher manifestation, so that they could have the happiness, the freedom and the pleasure that man seems to seek and value.

At the time, the capitalist has developed the machinery to such a point where he can hire a group of specialized people called technocrats. In the near future he will be able to do this, and the technocrat will be so specialized until he cannot really be identified as a proletarian. In fact that group of men will be so small until we will have to do something to explain the other people; we would have to come up with another definition. Now, sometimes when we theorize we can argue all day. We can argue all day and if we have no practical application of a theory we will come up with nothing worthwhile. So I'm saying that in spite of the criticism that we've received from certain people, we would say in practice many of our activities would be the same. That is because people would not disappear, not with our survival program they will not. They will not disappear. They will still be around. So, Therefore, the Black Panther Party says it's perfectly correct to organize the proletarians because after he's kicked out of the factory, because he'll be called unemployable or lumpen, doesn't stop or transform his interest which is to live, and in order to live he has to eat. So his best interest is to seize the machinery that he has produced so that he can produce the abundance so he and his brethren can live. Now, I'm saying, that we will not wait until the proletarian becomes the lumpenproletarian to educate him. Today we must lift the consciousness of the people so that we can get a clear picture of what is to be done. We need to know that, because the wind is rising and the rivers flow, times are getting hard and we can't go home again. We can't go back to our mother's womb, nor can we go back to 1917.

As the United States, or what I like to call North America, was transformed at the hands of the ruling circle from a nation to an empire, (because an empire is a nation transformed) it caused a total change in the world, because no part of a thing interrelated can change and leave everything else the same. So when the United States, or North America, became an empire it changed the whole composition and the whole phenomena in the world. There were other nations in the world. But empire means that the ruling circle who lives in the empire, or the imperialist, controls all other nations. Now some time ago in history there existed a phenomena we called, well I call, primitive empire. That was the Roman Empire because the Romans controlled all of the known world. But in fact they did not know all of the world, so therefore, some nations still existed because they did not control all of the land. In modern days, I would like for you to stipulate that probably all of the world is known as far as where any large number of people live. So the United States as an empire would necessarily have to control the whole world or effect that part that it doesn't control so much until we would call that control. We also see that if we understand dialectics that every determination brings about a limitation and every limitation brings about a determination. In other words, while one force may give rise to one thing, it might crush other things or even itself. In other words, we might have a concept we call the negation of the negation. Meaning, we might say that while in 1917 the ruling circle created an industrial base and used the system of capitalism they were also creating the necessary conditions for socialism. They were doing this because it is necessary in order to have a socialist society to have some centralization of the wealth, we would have to have some equal distribution of the wealth, we would have to have some harmony between the people.

First I will roughly give you some characteristics that any people who call themselves a nation should have. These are economic independence, cultural determination, control of the political institutions, territorial integrity and safety.

In 1966, we called ourselves, that is, the Party, a Black nationalist Party. We called ourselves Black nationalists because we thought that nationhood was the answer. Shortly after that we decided that what was really needed was revolutionary nationalism, that is, nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing the phenomena a little more, we found that it was impractical and even a contradiction. So, therefore, we went to a higher level of consciousness. We saw that in order to be free — and this is what we really want to be free — we thought the nation would make us free — we saw that in order to be free we had to crush the ruling circle and, therefore, we had to unite with the peoples of the world, so we called ourselves Internationalists. We sought solidarity with the peoples of the world. We sought solidarity with what we thought were the nations of the world. But then what happened? We found that because everything's in a constant state of transformation and that because of the development of technology, because of the development of the mass media, because of the fire power of the imperialist, because of the fact that the United States is no longer a nation but an empire, that nationhood did not exist, because they did not have the criteria for nationhood. Because their self-determination was destroyed, because their economic determination was destroyed, because their cultural determination was transformed — and I would like for you to strike "destroyed," I would like for you to put in "transformed." Excuse me — all of the nations were transformed at the hands of the imperialist and the ruling circle in the interests of the imperialists. So we found that in order to be an internationalist, we had to be also a nationalist, or at least acknowledge nationhood. So all internationalists are also nationalist, because, if I understand that word, "inter" means some interrelationship between a group of nations. Now if no nation is in existence and in fact the United States is an empire, that would make it impossible for us to be internationalists. We are no longer internationalists, we're not afraid about that. Matter of fact we will try to shed light upon it, and we will define the new transformation and the phenomena, and we will call ourselves "Intercommunalists." Because nations have been transformed into communities of the world.

So tonight, the Black Panther Party would like to disclaim Internationalism and support Intercommunalism. We have a problem. You know Marx and Lenin felt with the information that they had, that when non-state finally came to be a reality, it would be caused, or ushered in by the people and by Communism. A

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BLACK PANTHER ARCHIVES

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strange thing happened. The ruling reactionary circle through the process of being an imperialist, transformed the world into what we call reactionary intercommunalism. They laid siege upon all the communities of the world, dominating the institutions to such an extent that the people are not served by the institutions in their land. The Black Panther Party would like to reverse that and lead the people of the world into the age of Revolutionary Intercommunalism. This would be the time when the people seize the means of production, distribute the wealth and the technology in an egalitarian way to the many communities of the world.

We see very little difference in what happens to a community here in North America and what happens to a community in Vietnam. We see very little difference in what happens, even culturally to a Chinese community in San Francisco and a Chinese community in Hong Kong. We see very little difference in what happens to a Black community in Harlem and a Black community in South Africa, a Black community in Angola and Mozambique. We see very little difference. So what has actually happened, that non-state has already been accomplished, but it's reactionary. A community by way of definition is a comprehensive collection of institutions which serve the people who live there. It differs from a nation, because a community evolves around a greater structure that we usually call the state and the state has certain control over the community. It also serves the community if the administration represents the people or if the administration happens to be the people's commissar. It's not so at this time, so there's still something to be done, I spoke earlier about the negation of the negation. I spoke earlier about the fact of redistribution of wealth. We think that it's very important to know that in the world today that socialism in the United States will never exist. Why? it will not exist because it cannot exist. Also I would say. socialism cannot at this time exist any place in the world. Because socialism would require a socialist state, and if state does not exist how could socialism exist? So how do we define certain progressive countries such as the People's Republic of China? How do we describe certain progressive countries, or communities as we call them, as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea? How do we define certain communities as North Vietnam and the Provisional Government in the South? How do we explain these communities, if in fact they too cannot claim nationhood. We say this: we say they represent the people's liberated territory. They represent a community liberated. But that community is not sufficient, it is not satisfied, just as the National Liberation Front is not satisfied with the liberated territory in the South. It is only ground for preparation for the liberation of the world, seizing of the wealth from the ruling circle and equal distribution and proportional representation in an intercommunal framework. This is what the Black Panther Party would like to achieve with the help of the power of the people because without the people nothing can be achieved.

I stated that in the United States socialism would never exist. I say that in order for a revolution to occur in the United States, you would have to have a redistribution of wealth not on a national level, but an international level, not on an international level, but on an intercommunal level, and this is because how can we say that we have accomplished revolution and redistribute the wealth just to the people here in North America when the ruling circle itself is guilty of trespass de bonas as per tadas. That is, they've taken away the goods of the people of the world, transported them to America, and used them as their very own. That is a tort.

Now remember in 1917, when the revolution occurred, you had a redistribution of wealth on a national level because nations existed. Now, if you have to think in terms of planning an economy on a world wide level, on an Intercommunal level, that says something. That says that the people have been ripped off and it's very much like the people in one country being ripped off. And when the people seize the means of production then they redistribute. So we say this: we say reparation will not even serve because the people have not only been robbed of their raw materials, their raw materials have also been invested, their raw materials have been made into a technologica! machine — the people are responsible for that — so the people of the world will have to have control of that, not for X amount of time, not for a limited amount, but it's theirs. So all I can see in order to plan a real Intercommunal economy is that we will have to acknowledge how the world is hooked up together. We'd also have to acknowledge that some time ago, nations could exist because technology had not advanced to the level it is now.

Some people will argue that nations still exist because of the cultural differences. By way of definition, just for practical argument, culture is a collection, or learned patterns of behavior. We see that here in the United States, Black people, Africans, were raped from the mother country, were brought here, and we've literally lost most of our African values. Perhaps we still hold onto some surviving Africanisms, but by and large you can see the transformation. This was achieved through a long stay, but also through the high technological society that has a tremendous mass media and indoctrination center. We see that the ruling circle has also launched satellites in order to indoctrinate the world. We see that while there might be what we call cultural differences, the difference is not a qualitative difference but a quantitative difference. In other words, that if technology and the ruling circle go on as they are going on now, that the people of the world will be conditioned to adapt Western values. I think Japan is a good example. And the difference between people in fact are getting very small.

But again it's in the interest of the ruling circle. I don't believe that history can be backtracked, you see. So if the world is really that interconnected, then we would have to acknowledge that and say that in order for the people to be free, then they would control the institutions of their community and also have some form of representation in the technological center that they produce. So, the United States will have to, in order to correct the robbery of the world, first return what they have stolen. So I don't see where we could talk about socialism when weare talking about world distribution. I think this is what Marx talked about when he talked about non-state.

I was at Alex Haley's house some time ago. And he talked to me about his search for his past. He found it in Africa. But he returned there shortly afterwards and he was in a state of panic. His village hadn't changed very much. But when he went back he saw an old man walking down the road and he had something to his ear that he cherished. That was a small transistor radio that was zeroed in on the British Broadcasting network. So, what I'm trying to say is that the mass media, plus the development of transportation makes it impossible for us to think of ourselves in terms of separate entities, as nations. Do you realize that it only took me approximately five hours to get from San Francisco to here? It only takes ten hours to get from here to Vietnam. We see that the ruling circle no longer acknowledges wars, they call them "police actions. "They say we have a domestic disturbance because the Vietnamese people are rioting. What I'm saying is that the ruling circle accept and realize what they have done. They know that it's one world, but they're determined to follow their logic of exploitation. They know because a short time ago, in Detroit, a community was under siege, and now sixteen members of the Party are in prison. The local police laid siege on that community and that house and they used the weapons, the same weapons they use in Vietnam, matter of fact, two tanks rolled up. We see that the same thing happens. We see that the same thing happens in Vietnam because the police are there also. The police are everywhere and they all wear the same uniform and use the same tools.

And they're there for the same purpose, that is the protection of the ruling circle here in North America. We say that it is true that the world is one community. The world is one community but we're not satisfied where the power is. We want the power for the people.

I said earlier, and I strayed away, that the theory of the negation of the negation is very valid. Some scholars have been wondering why in Asia, Africa and Latin America, their resistance always seek the goal of a collective society. They seem not to institute the economy of the capitalist. They seem to go all the way from feudalism and try to jump to a collective society. And some people can't understand why. Why won't they follow historical Marxism, or historical materialism? Why won't they go from feudalism, develop a capitalistic base, and finally go into socialism? They don't do it because they can't do it. They don't do it for the same reason that the Black community in Harlem cannot develop capitalism, the Black community in Oakland or San Francisco cannot develop capitalism, because the imperialists have already pre-empted the field, he has already centralized the wealth. So therefore, in order to deal with him, all we can do is liberate our community, and then move on him as a collective force.

You know, we've had long arguments with people. We used to call ourselves before we became conscious, a dispersed collection of colonies here in North America. And people argued with me all day and all night, and they told me how can you possibly be a colony? In order to be a colony, you have to have a nation, and you're not a nation, you're a community. You're a dispersed collection of communities. And because the Black Panther Party is not embarrassed to change or be transformed, tonight I would like to accept the criticism and say that you are absolutely right, that we are collection of communities just as the African people represent a collection of communities, just as the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Chinese people are a collection of communities — a dispersed collection of communities. Because they have no superstructure. Or they do have a superstructure — the superstructure of the industrial base that they labor to produce was all put on Wall Street. And we would all agree that once a particular people, centralize the wealth and create a capitalist base, we won't find it in every single community, because every single community would not have the resources because it's already been centralized. This is a distorted form of collectivity. Everything's been collected but it's used for the interest of the ruling circle. So after the things have been collected, then how can you expect for someone to have a surplus that's already been ripped off? And this is why the Black Panther Party denounces Black capitalism and say that all we can do is liberate our community, not only in Vietnam but here, not only in Cambodia and the People's Republic of China and Korea, but the peoples of the world must unite as one community and then transform the world into a place where people will be happy, wars will end, state itself will no longer exist, and we will have communism. But we cannot do this right away, because we know that in sociology we say that when a structural change takes place, the result is usually cultural lag. In other words, after the people possess the means of production we will probably not move directly into communism but we will linger with Revolutionary Intercommunalism until such time that we can wash away bourgeois thought, until such time that we can wash away racism and reactionary thinking, and until such time that people are not attached to their nation as a peasant is attached to the soil, until such time that people can gain their sanity and develop a culture that is 'essentially human,' that will serve the people instead of serve some god. You see, it will be necessary to do that because we cannot avoid contact with each other. We cannot avoid contact with each other because of the changing set of conditions. So because we can't, we will have to then develop a value system that will make us function together in harmony. This will be necessary.

So tonight, I think I've covered some of what I had to say. I will allow you to talk. We will have a question and answer period. But before I do that. I would like to deliver a message to you. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, asked me to petition you, to ask you to prepare a place for him because he would like to return home. and also I would like to thank the peoples of the world for allowing our Minister of Information to reside in their liberated communities, in their liberated territory. So, they've actually set the example for us, we know what we have to do in order to return Eldridge Cleaver home. We have to liberate ourcommunities.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The Dreamer

The great civil rights leader and founder of the Souther Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia. After he graduated from Boston University, King went on to to lead Montgomery bus boycott. For his extraordinary work on behalf of Black and oppressed people and his opposition to war and tyranny, Dr. King won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1963. On April 4, 1968, he was struck down by an assassin in Memphis, Tennessee.

The visionary, the orator, the philosopher, the builder of dreams. He was and is that and much, much more. His actions transcended the boundaries imposed upon him and his Black and poor brothers and sisters. The "Dreamer" looked beyond the limits of civil rights and ventured into the arena of human rights, he dared to place the plights of Black people on the international agenda. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. ignored the restraints of complacency and instead marched on along the road to progress, challenging the hurdles of racism and ignorance.

The tasks that he set for himself and the goals which he championed have yet to be realized, yet his message and impact are eternal. To celebrate the life of Dr. King is not only a commemoration to him but to his dream, his quest for justice and freedom. We who survive and remember him must continue where he was unable to continue.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., provided an inspiration and drive that will surely place him among the best that humanity has to offer. To celebrate his life and further his efforts is a duty and responsibility that we must not leave unattended.

"What was the threat the FBI believed Martin Luther King posed to this country?" Answer: "It's the threat of change."

FALLEN COMRADES

A Black former agent-provocateur, employed by the FBI to infiltrate and spy upon the activities of the Black Panther Party has said in a sworn affidavit that the assassin of Southern California BPP leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Jerome Huggins on January 17, 1969, was "an agent in the service of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Los Angeles office."

In the affidavit, Darthard Perry, a self-confessed FBI "intelligence gatherer," charges that he saw the agent-in-charge of the "Black radicals" desk for the FBI in Los Angeles drive the getaway car for the three men who participated in the slaying.

"I recognized George Stiner, Larry Stiner and Claude Hubert from seeing them prior to this date [January 17] on the 14th floor of the Federal Bureau of Investigation building on several occasions," Perry says in the affidavit, "in the company of Brandon Cleary, the man I had seen driving them away from the Campbell Hall area" [the UCLA cafeteria where the murders took place].

Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter

Perry, the subject of an April, 1977, expose in Mother Jones magazine entitled "Meet America's Meanest Dirty Trickster," identifies the Stiner brothers as "intelligence gatherers" for the FBI, and Hubert, the tiggerman whom he says "executed" Bunchy and John, as an FBI "agent." All three were known members of the Ron Karenga-led US organization on January 17, 1969.

In 1971, George and Larry Stiner were convicted for the murders of Bunchy and John. (Hubertwas never brought to trial). in 1975, however, both "escaped" from San Quentin Irison during a family visit. Neither has ben heard from since.Perry's affidavit state:

"I, Darthard Perry, also known as Ed Riggs, also known as Bill Perry, also known as No. RA149581666, being first duly sworn, say:

"I was a resident of Los Angeles, California, during the years 1968 through 1975, and became an intelligence gatherer for the Federal Bureau of Investigation some time during the fall of 1968. As an intelligence gatherer, I was to inform on and observe the activities of the Black Panther Party as it operated in the Los Angeles area during all of 1968 and through to the end of 1969...

"I worked with Brandon Cleary who was in charge of Black radicals for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I am informed and believe that Cleary was the superior to Will Heaton and Michael Quinn, named below. To my knowledge, Cleary is still active in that capacity with the FBI in Los Angeles.

"I also worked with Will Heaton, a special agent for the Federal bureau of Investigation. To my knowledge, Heaton is no longer with the Bureau in Los Angeles, but is employed by the Bureau in an area near Los Angeles, possibly Van Nuys.

"I also worked with Michael Quinn, a special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. To my knowledge, Quinn is still a special agent in Los Angeles.

I was paid on a bi-monthly basis from some time in 1968 to 1975 in cash by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its agents. I was paid approximately $100 every two weeks for the information I would gather regarding the Black Panther Party Customarily, I would telephone Cleary, using the name Othello, and would arrange to meet in an arbitrary location, a restaurant, bar, street corner, etc.

"Very often my work involved the Los Angeles Police Department, specifically, the Criminal Conspiracy Section...

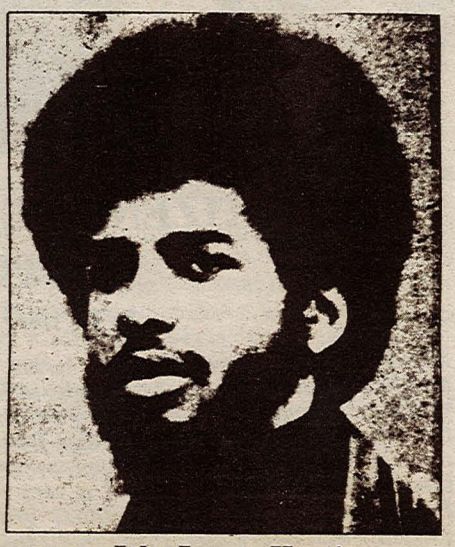
"I met with the above named employees of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on the street, in automobiles, and at the Wilshire Boulevard office (known as the V.A. Center in Westwood) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on the 14th floor, during this period of time, and spoke with them on the telephone.

"On or about the 17th of January, 1969, I was told to go to the University of California campus at Los Angeles and observe the activities in the cafeteria at Campbell hall. This order was given to me in person by Brandon Cleary at the above mentioned FBI office. Will Heaton was also present. I arrived there in the late morning and observed many members of the Black Panther Party and the US organization present in the room as well as other people not identified with either organization.

"I observed the situation in the cafeteria which seemed to be nothing more than a meeting and left for a short time to go to a parking lot located near the building. The parking lot is reached by proceeding down a pathway, across a street and then to the parking lot.

"Shortly after my arrival in the parking lot I heard shots from the direction of Campbell Hall.

"Within a few minutes I observed George Stiner, Larry Stiner, and Claude Hubert (also known as 'Chuchessa') jump into a 1967 or 1968 light tan or white, four-door Chevrolet driven by Brandon Cleary of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I saw this car drive away from the parking lot of Campbell Hall.



John Jerome Huggins

"I left the campus on foot and immediately went to FBI headquarters by bus. I inquired as to the whereabouts of Brandon Cleary at this time, and, was told he was not available. I am informed and believe that the four-door Chevrolet described above was the property of a man called 'Jomo,' a known member of the US organization, now deceased.

"I recognized George Stiner, Larry Stiner, and Claude Hubert from seeing them prior to this date on the 14th floor of the Federal Bureau of Investigation building on several occasions in the company of Brandon Cleary, the man I had seen drive them away from the Campbell Hall area.

"I had been told to give a report wihin twenty-four hours of the incident to my supervising agent, Will Heaton, on the 14th floor of the Wilshire Blvd. Federal Bureau of Investigation building.

SUPERVISING AGENT

"A few hours later, I went to the building and met with my supervising agent, Will Heaton. While in his company, I observed George Stiner, Larry Stiner and Claude Hubert in the company of Brandon Cleary on the 14th floor of the Federal Bureau of Investigation building.

"I asked Cleary, what was happening' and was told that there had been 'a fuck up —no one was to be killed by 'our: people.'

"I also learned that it was Claude Hubert who fired the shot that killed John Jerome Huggins and the same Claude Hubert who fired the shot that killed Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter and not George or Larry Stiner.

"Through information and belief, I have knowledge that George Stiner and Larry Stiner were inteligence gatherers for the Federal Bureau of Investigation and were working for Brandon Cleary and others when John Jerome Huggins and Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter were murdered. I am informed and believe that Claude Hubert was on January 17, 1969, at the time he reportedly executed John Jerome Huggins and Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter, an agent in the service of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Los Angeles office. I am further informed that this same Claude Hubert was subsequently transferred to an east coast office of the Federal bureau of Investigation, specifically New York, New York."

AFFIDAVIT

Both Perry's affidavit plus an accompanying statement from Charles Garry, the noted longtime BPP counsel, were incorporated this past May as part of the BPP's $100 million lawsuit against the FBI, CIA and IRS.

In his statement Garry explains:"On May 2, 1977, Darthard Perry was to come to my office and execute [sign] the affidavit. He called me collect from Sacramento, California, and stated that Federal Bureau of Investigation agents [were] on his trail and he was concerned for his own safety. He told me he would call me at various points along his route to San Francisco, California. He did not arrive at my office on that day and I have not heard from him since then...."

(Reprinted from The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, Dec. 17, 1977)

BLACK PANTHER ARCHIVES

Children from Black Panther School

A CITIZEN'S PEACE FORCE: A PROPOSAL

By Dr. Huey P. Newton

Following is the conclusion of a series of articles written by Huey P. Newton and first published in this newspaper in 1973, in which the Black Panther Party president proposes the creation of a Citizen's Peace Force as an alternative to the armed services and local police forces. 1973, of course, was a time when over 73 % of the American people were against the war in Vietnam, and the idea of revolution was indeed a very real potential. Of course, The Black Panther Party and other militant groups were organizing against police brutality and oppression throughout the U.S. urban ghettos, making the connection between the imperialist aggression — the war in Southeast Asia — and the military occupation of urban ghettos by U.S.Gestapo style police.

In the segment below, Huey discusses how the Peace Force would promote a more humane society in America.

PART 2 — CONCLUSION

While the electronic lid is being screwed down tight on the ghettos of the poor, in the frightened White middle class suburbs and strongholds the "Basic Car Plan" will be put into effect.

The "Basic Car Plan" is an ominous political experiment whose laboratory is California. Under the regime of an activist right-wing governor and attorney general, local police forces in metropolitan California cities have begun to organize reaction in White neighborhoods. Using local schools, the police are holding regular meetings that involve entire families, children and adults. Under the guise of "crime prevention:" and "community relations," fear and rage are provoked and organized.

The flag ship of this movement has been the campaign to collect signatures in order to put a proposition restoring the death penalty on the ballot. This campaign was waged through every state law enforcement institution from the office of the attorney general down to the precinct station house. Meetings advertised as providing information on how to protect property (complete with scouting activities conducted by "Policeman Bill and Policewoman Mary") were, in fact, used to promote the death penalty, attack the peace and human rights movement, and, in general, ideologize for repression. Both children and adults are actively recruited for undercover surveillance.

When the signal is flashed, as it has been, from the White House itself down to the station house that "law and order" is to be the response to the rising cry for economic and social justice, then it is past time for the idea of a Citizen's Peace Force — armed with the Constitution and the Bill of Rights — to be pitted against the idea of the Police-Industrial Complex.

What follows the war in Indo-China? The "war against crime." The Military-Industrial-University complex is already being retooled not for peace but for "social control." Liberal "thinkers" at places like the Rand Corporation are working on domestic "conflict scenarios" just as a decade ago they "gamed" out the script for "counterinsurgency" in Vietnam.

A Citizen's Peace Force would, of course, save vast sums of money depending, as it would, on local, community methods of person-to-person problem solving. The democratic dynamism flowing from citizen responsibility and decision making would galvanize every level of popular institutional involvement. And as in the equally charged issue of education where the easily exploited tactic of "busing" begs the entire problem, citizen control would allow each ethnic group to conform to both traditional, cultural and politically evolving mores, morals and values.

Citizen's peace control looks beyond failed liberal measures and slogans like "quota system" and "citizen review board"; beyond such reactionary tactics as "law and order" and the "Basic Car Plan." The Peace Force would not be, in this new model, a euphemism for police force as it is now. The Peace Force could more economically handle the work now assigned to agencies like VISTA, and handle the problems with an incalculably better chance of success than the present neocolonial bureaucratic apparatus known as the War on Poverty and which is, in effect, a war on the poor (since the fantasy of the American ruling ideology is that the poor cause poverty rather than the reverse).

HUEY 'S SPEECH *CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10*

The Peace Force would be cross-trained to respond to the variety of emergencies that constitute every day life in the poverty community. The comparison to a home guard is valid when one considers that the rat crisis alone is enough to occupy cadres year round, or universal inoculation for Sickle Cell Anemia, or voter registration, etc.

Finally, the danger in a "professional" national police force is the same as that of a volunteer army. In both we find an elitist, racist, proto-fascist orientation and esprit. Uneducated, unemployed, authoritarian people are attracted to the green machine or the domestic blue machine, there to be integrated into the state's human and technological weapon.

That is, of course, why the Nixon administration is pressing for just such a military — one that will not question the search and destroy orders from the Pentagon or inform the public about a My Lai, Kent State or a conspiracy to exterminate the Black Panther Party or the Brown Berets.

In 1782, founding father Thomas Paine said: "Whatever the apparent cause of any riots may be, the real one is always want of happiness. It shows that something is wrong in the system of government that injures the felicity by which society is to be preserved."

FORMER BPP LEADER FRAMED BY NYPD & FBI LOSES APPEAL & FACES RE-IMPRISONMENT

December 19, 1991 — Today the Court of Appeals paved the way for the re-imprisonment of Dhoruba Bin Wahad, a former leader of the Black Panther Party who was released on his own recognizance on March 21, 1990 after he proved his innocence. Now, after being robbed of 19 years of his life, Mr Bin Wahad is to be denied his remaining years of freedom and silenced once again.

During a fifteen year legal battle Mr. Bin Wahad discovered that the Manhattan District Attorney withheld nineteen inconsistent and exculpatory statements of the chief witness against him. These disclosures led to the 1990 reversal of his conviction which was based upon long established legal precedent that held that the prosecution's failure to turn over statements requires a new trial. In its December 19, 1991 opinion, the Court of Appeals changed this law, holding that if the District Attorney withholds evidence until a defendant's direct appeals are exhausted then it becomes the defendant's burden to prove s/he was "prejudiced."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS

HAITI

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

toward the 70's, the more the businesses come to Haiti — the more money come to Haiti, the more the people kept fleeing. So the people are not economic refugees; they are political refugees. They keep saying that our people are economy refugees and that's a lie, and they know it's a lie, because they know that, for example, in the 70's when they [the U.S.] were pumping all those millions of dollars to "Baby Doc" to help his regime, when they were encouraging American businesses to leave this country to make people here [the United States] unemployed and out of work, to go to Haiti to take advantage of the 2 dollars a day wages. In Haiti, there is no welfare, no unemployment insurance, no health care — nothing like that. So, for each workers, it only cost them 2 dollars per day. So that is why the Tonton Macoutes are still in power to insure the Duvalier people stay in power.

So right now, when father Aristide came to power [in 1987], the people and father Aristide fought the Macoutes. He was fiery as a priest. He preached and he talked about conditions, mobilized people against "Baby Doc," and the people asked Aristide to run for office. The last year that I was in Haiti, in August of 1990, the situation was bleak, the Macoutes were going to take over again even though "Baby Doc" was gone they [Tonton Macoutes] were still in power because the structure was still there. At the top, they were still the ones that were in control. So then, in August, they were really going to take over, and the people asked Father Aristide to run for office. And when Father Aristide ran for office, so many people came out to vote that they ran out of paper to register all those people.

Victims of the Coup (Port-Au-Prince Morque)

Q: So, what do you think the U.S. role is. Since it seems, according to the U.S. media, that the United States supported Aristide?

P.L.: What's happening is the U.S. has never liked Father Aristide's politics. There's a book called "Raining Season" by Elmy Williams... You see, Father Aristide has always spoke for the poor, for the trade unions, for the people's organizations, for the people movement. He has always stood against those for the exploitation of the Haitian masses, for paying 2 dollars a day wages. He always stood against that. Let's not forget that the U.S. always supported "Papa Doc," "Baby Doc," and trained the Tonton Macoutes and gave them weapons and continued to throughout the 70's and 80's. So, Father Aristide was in the other camp. He has always criticized the exploitation of the Haitian masses by the U.S. companies and "Baby Doc"— not just U.S. companies, but other companies [from so-called developed countries] as well. So, actually during the election, the U.S. was supporting Marc Bazin, a Haitian and former official of the World Bank. So, Bazin, with his millions of dollars, would pay people and musicians to attend and participate in his rallies. Well, in a country where people are starving, sure, it's a job. people would go to his rallies and get paid. But then after they finished and got paid, they would turn the rally into a rally for father Aristide. In a field of 11 candidates, Aristide got 67% of the vote. "Baby Doc's" financial advisor — who was a dictator himself — took power. He tried to get Father Aristide deported out of Haiti. The Haitian people went on a week-long strike. People even went to the airport and blockaded it so that father Aristide could not leave Haiti, and this is why father Aristide did not leave Haiti. I mean, this man is really loved by the people of Haiti — Haitians everywhere — New York, Miami, Boston. People are 100% in support of him.

When the coup took place, many people did suspect that the army and the people who carried out the coup were a part of the business sector that was anti-Aristide for many reasons. Number one: father Aristide was pushing for a new wage increase. He was also pushing for better working conditions for the workers. He was pushing for decent health care. He was cleaning up the Civilian Administration System, whereas, before, companies didn't pay taxes because they were in league with "Baby Doc" and the Macoutes. He was cleaning up the drug trade, the military was very involved in the drug trade; cleaning up the judiciary, making sure that there was a little justice there.

Q: This remind me of Salvador Allenda of Chile In 1973, he was trying to bring in socialism, peacefully. The U.S., through the CIA and the various reactionary agencies and mechanisms — labor unions, etc. — was able to undermine the change that he was trying to bring about. Looking back at Chile at that period, people are pointing out the fact that, the reason Allenda was unable to bring socialism in that the military was never fully under the control of Allenda's socialist government. So, the military was allowed to work in coordination with the CIA and various businesses [multinationals] there, creating conditions that brought about the coup. This seems like a similar situation?

P.L.: Yes. What's happened here, you see, there's no hard evidence to link the U.S. with the coup. However, many Haitians do feel that, given the position of the U.S., the history of their having trained the military, their close relationship with them. Many Haitians feel, definitely, that the U.S. had something to do with it. Now some of them feel also that the coup may have taken place without the U.S. knowledge, but the people who plotted the coup and did it, knew that once they did it that the U.S. would give it its blessing. Others (Haitians' feelings) are a combination of the two.

Now what has been happening recently, has been that the U.S. ambassador in Haiti has been really working with the coup plotters, the leaders of the army and the Tonton Macoutes that are opposed to Aristide, to prevent any unblocking of the situation. I have a letter here where about 30 popular trade unions, religious organizations and other groups have written to President Bush. They complained about the American Ambassador and the role he's playing in catering to the coup leaders. They are comparing that situation to the American Ambassador in Kuwait where he took a stance, but in Haiti the American Ambassador is playing footsie with the coup leaders.

Q: What is the specific relationship with the Tonton Macoutes and the Haitian military? Are they just a paramilitary group that work in conjunction with the military? I understand they have a history of terrorism. But do they operate under the auspices of the regular military? Do they have some kind of special relationship going on?

P.L.: Yes. What has happened is that after "Baby Doc" fled, the Tonton Macoutes shed their uniforms but they kept their weapons. The army was also Macoutized. In other words, the Macoutes were not just a uniform; it's also an ideology. So many of the army officers are also Macoutes. They never disarmed. The Macoutes are more numerous than the army. So what happened is that they integrated the Macoutes into the army and kept them functioning as some kind of terrorist death squad like in El Salvador. And that's how they operate. When they are wearing plain clothes they are called Attach

Press conference

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

mechanism against the thousands of thousands of bullets which were launched at our offices.

Kathleen Cleaver: You have to realize, also, that in LA it wasn't only **Geronimo.** Apprentice "Bunchy" Carter was targeted. John Huggins was targeted. They both were killed. COINTELPRO's plan was to disrupt, neutralize and discredit the Black Panther Party... Different people were treated in different ways.

NATIONAL COALITION FOR HAITIAN REFUGEES

A STATEMENT ON THE FORCED REPATRIATION OF HAITIAN BOAT PEOPLE

November 26, 1991 — The member organizations of the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees deplore the United States government's enforced return of Haitian refugees to their violence-torn homeland. We are fearful of the uncertain fate awaiting these boat people, who fled from Haiti for their lives, and we urge President Bush to halt this inhumane policy immediately.

Attempts to depict the forced repatriation of the boat people as a humanitarian gesture, designed to prevent drownings on the high seas by discouraging future crossings, are misguided. The repatriation completely contradicts what State Department officials acknowledged two weeks ago in the decision to harbor the refugees aboard Coast Guard vessels, while seeking safe haven for them in other, more hospitable countries: Given the continuing widespread political violence and repression in Haiti, returning refugees to face potential violence and repression in Haiti, returning refugees to face potential persecution there is a grave violation of the United Nations Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees and the mandate of the Organization of American states.

The dire conditions prevailing in Haiti since the bloody military coup d'etat on September 30 have, in fact, been underscored by the Bush Administration's own statements. The Executive Order of October 29 emptied the U.S. embassy in Port-au-Prince of non-essential personnel and urged the departure of all U.S. citizens from Haiti because of the impossibility of guaranteeing their safety. The danger for Haitians is even more serious.

We call on the United States to reclaim its honorable tradition of offering refuge to individuals fleeing political repression. If we are truly to express our humanitarian concern for the risks faced by the boat people, then let the Coast Guard assume its mandated task by operating "search and rescue" missions. Until Haiti's rightful democratic government is reinstalled with President Aristide at its head, these refugees should be given safe haven. There must be neither further interdictions, nor forced returns to a brutal regime that no nation in the world has recognized as legitimate.

ARVIE CARROLL TRIAL BEGINS IN SONOMA COUNTY

By Marlene Lily

(Santa Rosa) Jury selection begins this week in the Sonoma County trial of Arvie B. Carroll. Carroll, 33, an African-American, is charged with the August 1990 murder Christina Appleton, an employee of the Iron Horse Winery in Forestville. Appleton was Caucasian.

Carroll's attorneys, public defender Steve Weiss and his court-appointed assistant Lorena Chandler of San Rafael, filed a motion January 6 to drop the death penalty in Carroll's case on the grounds that for the past 15 years local prosecutors have not prosecuted European-American "death eligible" murder defendants as vigorously as they've prosecuted their African-American counterparts.

Now there is apparently a chance that Weiss and Chandler — after a year and a half of preparation — will be disqualified to defend Carroll, on the grounds that their motion places the Public Defender's office in a conflict of interest with many of its past and current murder defendants.

That would mean more county jail time for Carroll, who has asked to be housed in a state prison while he awaits trial in order to avoid the racism and harassment he faces daily in Sonoma County Jail.

Carroll has pleaded guilty to the murder, leaving the question of the penalty the main issue to be determined by trial. However, having observed the harassment Carroll and his wife are being subjected to by Sonoma County authorities, this writer is wondering whether Carroll pleaded guilty simply to avoid a long battle that he saw no chance of winning.

I, for one, am beginning to doubt that he actually committed the crime, despite his guilty plea, and despite the fact that he has long since been convicted by the local newspaper. In my view, if the prosecutor had a case, he would make his case, and would not need to resort to harassment and slanderous publicity to get a conviction.

PRIOR CONVICTION

Carroll has been in the criminal justice system since he was eleven years old. When he was 16, in custody of the California Youth Authority at Paso Robles in San Luis Obispo County, Carroll was charged with the murder of a part-time YA teacher, Maria Romero, 51.

His San Luis Obispo County public defender, Mr. De La Monte, intended to take his case to trial, but a change of venue was granted to Santa Barbara County. I am still not certain who requested the change of venue.

The Santa Barbara presiding judge assigned Carroll an attorney, William J. McCracken, who had been in private practice for only ten months. McCracken was a latecomer to law, passing the bar in 1969, when he was in his late 30s. He worked as an assistant district attorney in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara for six years prior to entering private practice, and was the prosecutor in the Bank of America bombing case. He had no track record as a defense attorney.

BAD CONFESSION

Despite the large amount of work done on Carroll's behalf by attorney De La Monte in San Luis Obispo, and despite the big box of information passed along to McCracken by De La Monte, McCracken convinced Carroll, then 17, that his only hope of avoiding the death penalty lay in pleading guilty to second degree murder.

De La Monte's view, on the other hand, according to courtroom testimony, was: "When the case left my hands ... it would have gone to trial. It was a bad confession. They didn't have a case."

Carroll says that his 1975 confession took place after days of sleep deprivation, drugging, and relentless questioning. Court testimony showed that the alleged confession took place before he saw an attorney, and after he had asked to see both his mother and an attorney. For a juvenile, asking to see one's mother has the same meaning as asking to see an attorney.

Warren Sinsheimer, a deputy public defender who represented Carroll in 1975 in San Luis Obispo, testified in Sonoma County in November 1991, at a hearing on a motion to suppress Carroll's 1975 murder conviction, that the 1975 police questioning of Carroll "was coercive, apparently in violation of the so-called Miranda rule."

OTHER SUSPECTS

There were 100 other suspects in the case, including several who allegedly had female blood on their clothes.

In the same Sonoma County hearing, McCracken testified that it was in Carroll's "best interest" to plead him guilty to second degree murder.

Carroll was tried as an adult in 1975, apparently in violation of the law at that time, even though he was only 16 at the time of the crime and 17 when McCracken pled him guilty to second degree murder.

There was no indication in the records that McCracken did any legal research on Carroll's case, that he listened to the tapes of the alleged confessions, or that he filed any motions.

McCracken pointed out the role that public opinion played in Carroll's plea bargain and conviction: "I recall telling the judge that we might be in a worse light if I were to successfully defend Arvie Carroll, if he were to walk out a free man."

In other words, so much hysteria had been generated by the publicity given the case that the public was demanding a sacrificial lamb. For reasons that were nowhere stated in the proceedings, Arvie Carroll was chosen to be that victim

THE REASONS

I can only speculate on the reasons: Carroll is highly intelligent, articulate, a good writer. Even McCracken was "impressed with him," thought he "had a pleasant personality, could go somewhere in life."

In other words, Carroll, if not a leader, had leadership potential. It was 1975. Malcolm was gone. Martin was gone. Medgar Evers was gone. Fred Hampton was gone. George and Jonathan Jackson were gone. Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver were in exile. Stokely Carmicheal was in Africa. Geronimo Pratt and H. Rap Brown were behind bars. The New York Panthers were underground, locked up, or embroiled in endless litigation. The Oakland Panthers were "in the survival mode." Here was a youngster with the intelligence and the street smarts to move into a position of leadership when his time came. Better to head him off at the pass. Paso Robles.

That was 17 years ago. Now the issue is Arvie Carroll's life. The motion to suppress his prior conviction was turned down on January 6, 1992, by Sonoma County Judge Arnold Rosenfield, despite the "mountain of evidence" presented by the defense to support it. Except for Carroll himself and the defense attorneys, I was the only person in the courtroom who was interested in the possibility that justice was not being served in Carroll's case.

NOT INTERESTED

Boney Saludes, the Press Democrat's court reporter, stuck his nose in for perhaps five minutes, out of a day and a half of testimony, then wrote an article two months later saying only: "Rosenfield denied a motion bythe defense to strike the allegation of the prior murder conviction, making it more difficult for the defense to fight the death penalty should Carroll be convicted of first-degree murder."

I called Saludes the day after the hearing on Carroll's prior conviction, and told him I had 20 pages of notes about the hearing. I offered to share my notes with him or discuss with him what happened at the hearing. He wasn't interested.

Last October, when Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall retired from the Court, he held a long press conference. One of the things he said was, "I'm still not free." A Supreme Court Justice is still not free. Last November, when Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Spoke at a meeting in Santa Rosa, he detailed the racism he experiences in his daily life in San Francisco, despite his wealth, fame, and high visibility.

In 1970, Curtis Mayfield's recording If There's A Hell Below, We're All Gonna Go included the song "Mighty Mighty Spade and Whitey." And a line in that song covered the events of the last 28 years quite succinctly: "We're killing up our leaders. Thank God for the women breeders." At the moment, Arvie Carroll is another black leader on his way to Death Row. In California, like people everywhere, we do indeed reap what we sow. As we sow the seeds of injustice, we reap the fruit of violence in the streets. I still pray for an alternative.

Meanwhile, if you are concerned about justice in Sonoma County, attend Arvie Carroll's trial. Ignore the Press Democrat. Let the court see that even if justice is blind, there are still people in Sonoma County with "eyes that see and ears that hear."

For more information:
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Santa Rosa CA 95402
(707) 578-3499

DHORUBA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12

According to Robert Boyle, one of the attorneys for Mr. Bin Wahad, the Court's decision "will encourage prosecutors to engage in illegal activity. Prosecutors now know that if they conceal prior statements until after conviction, there will be little chance of reversal. The rules of our criminal justice system should encourage fair trials in the first instance by requiring full disclosure at trial and should not reward dishonest or negligent prosecutors who fail to comply with the law."

We have shown that Mr. Bin Wahad was a target of covert government operations under the FBI's counterintelligence program, COINTELPRO, because of his leadership in the Black Panther Party. We have always maintained, and the documents have proven, that he was the victim of a political frame-up. The FBI and NYPD documents prove overwhelmingly that Mr. Bin Wahad was "prejudiced." However, the Court of Appeals refused to address this issue forcing an innocent man to face the prospect of re-incarceration for life."

"The rules of our criminal justice system should encourage fair trials in the first instance by requiring full disclosure at trial and should not reward dishonest or negligent prosecutors who fail to comply with the law."

The Campaign to Free Black Political Prisoner in the Unite States joined in condemning the Court's decision. According to Ms. Jones, a spokesperson, "today's decision proves that the courts are an ineffective mechanism with which to deal with political repression, it proves once and for all that there are political prisoners in the United States. As the people of South Africa have shown, political prisoners will only be free when people of conscience demand their release."

For further information contact:
(718) 624-0800 - messages will be responded to immediately
Ms. Jones at (212) 991-9111
Joan Gibbs at (212) 614-6420
Pat Levasseur (212) 614-6438

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CARRY MAJOR BRANDS

MUMIA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Europeans at Hispaniola in 1492 have the least reason to celebrate in the subsequent 500 years.

They, misnamed "Indians," became the "New World's" first slaves, the most deprived, the most exploited, the most neglected in an intentional pattern of conquest and mass liquidation in the face of white thirst for Lebensraum.

Even when they renounced their traditional faith and folkways, as did the Cherokee of New Echota, Georgia, who converted to Christianity, built housing and buildings and government in the European manner, and even kept Black slaves, it did not stop them from massive landtheft, a corrupt government stealing of their property and the gunpoint march to reservations that left thousands dead, Black and Red, on the Trail of Tears.

Many will mark 500 years with tears and bitterness.

Dr. Huey P. Newton, Black Panther Party leader and co-founder Monday, February 17, 1992

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